

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 246385

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, UN, SF, WA

SUBJECT: JOINT DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA

REF: A)STATE 238452; B)STATE 239627

FOR AMBASSADOR

1. USG IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE WITH BRITISH AND FRENCH IN JOINT DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA. DEPARTMENT HAS NOTIFIED BRITISH AND FRENCH EMBASSIES OF OUR AGREEMENT, WHO WILL IN TURN ASK THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS IN PRETORIA COORDINATE JOINT APPROACH WITH YOU.

2. IN COLLABORATION WITH BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS YOU SHOULD URGENTLY (BECAUSE NAMIBIA NOW BEING DEBATED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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GA) SEEK AN APPOINTMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER TO

PRESENT AIDE MEMOIRE (TRANSMITTED SEPTEL) AND MAKE ADDITIONAL ORAL POINTS (LISTED BELOW). (FYI DEPARTMENT PLANS TO CITE FACT OF DEMARCHE IN UN FOURTH COMMITTEE SPEECH OCTOBER 22 IF THREE AMBASSADORS ARE ABLE TO MAKE APPROACH TO MULLER BY THEN END FYI).

3. WE HOPE THIS NEW APPROACH WILL IMPRESS ON SOUTH AFRICA THE NEED TO MAKE A CLEAR, COMPREHENSIVE AND UNAMBIGUOUS RESPONSE AT AN EARLY DATE, HOPEFULLY BEFORE THE SECURITY

COUNCIL NEXT MEETS TO CONSIDER NAMIBIA WHICH USUN BELIEVES WILL BE IN NOVEMBER. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE NEW AIDE MEMOIRE REITERATES THE PRINCIPLES THE THREE GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NAMIBIA, WHICH THE THREE GOVERNMENTS PRESENTED IN THE JOINT DEMARCHE OF APRIL 22. THE NEW AIDE MEMOIRE GOES BEYOND THEM HOWEVER, AND CITES A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH WE WOULD URGE THE SAG TO UNDERTAKE OR ANNOUNCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

4. IN PRESENTING AIDE MEMOIRE TO FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER, YOU SHOULD IN COORDINATION WITH BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS, MAKE FOLLOWING AGREED POINTS ORALLY:

A. WE HAVE CONSIDERED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S REPLY, IN THEIR AIDE MEMOIRE OF 27 MAY, TO THE TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE WHICH WE PRESENTED IN CAPE TOWN ON 22 APRIL. WHILE WELCOMING THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THAT REPLY, WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT IT GOES FAR ENOUGH TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM. IN PARTICULAR, A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY HAS BEEN CAUSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S RELUCTANCE IN POLICY STATEMENTS TO USE LANGUAGE WHICH IS EXPLICIT AND UNAMBIVALENT.

B. WE CONSIDER THIS IS THE RIGHT TIME, BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL NEXT MEETS TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA, TO REVERT TO THIS WHOLE QUESTION AGAIN. WE HAVE SET DOWN OUR DETAILED VIEWS IN ANOTHER AIDE MEMOIRE, HEREWITH, WHICH SUGGESTS SOME OF THE STEPS WHICH OUGHT NOW TO BE TAKEN
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TO BRING NAMIBIA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AT AN EARLY DATE. WE WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT FAILURE TO PROVIDE A PROMPT, CLEAR AND COMPREHENSIVE RESPONSE TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 366 COULD CAUSE OUR THREE GOVERNMENTS AGAIN TO BE FACED WITH A SITUATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH WE WOULD REGARD AS VERY UNHELPFUL TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND MORE GENERALLY TO OUR POSITION AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

INDEED, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER
WHETHER THE SAME CONSIDERATIONS DO NOT ALSO APPLY TO
THEM.

C. WE ATTACH SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE NEED TO LET THE
WORLD SEE THAT THE INHABITANTS OF NAMIBIA WILL BE
ENABLED TO CHOOSE THEIR FUTURE FREELY. WE DO NOT SEEK
TO LAY DOWN NOW THE FORM THIS PROCESS SHOULD TAKE,
WHETHER BY ONE COUNTRYWIDE REFERENDUM OR ELECTION, BUT WE
ARE CONCERNED THAT THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS WILL

BE SUCH AS WILL ENTITLE THE GOVERNMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT
NAMIBIA TO DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL RESPECT. COUPLED
WITH SOME FORM OF UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION OF THE
PROCESS, THIS WOULD GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS ALLAYING THE
DOUBTS WHICH PERSIST IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT
HOMELAND TYPE POLICIES HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABANDONED. WE
FIND LITTLE TO REASSURE US IN THE WINDHOEK DECLARATION
OF INTENT.

D. WE THEREFORE STRESS THE NEED FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT TO STATE THEIR INTENTIONS OVER NAMIBIA IN
UNAMBIVALENT TERMS ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED IN THIS
AIDE-MEMOIRE. WE ALSO URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS TO ARRANGE EARLY CONTACT WITH
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

E. WE INTEND TO ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY THAT WE HAVE MADE THIS
DEMARCHE. SINCE WE ARE MAKING THIS DEMARCHE IN OUR
CAPACITY AS PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
WE SHALL BE BRIEFING DR. WALDHEIM IN GENERAL TERMS.

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5. YOU WILL WANT TO PREPARE APPROPRIATE REBUTTAL
MATERIALS IN CONSULTATION WITH YOUR BRITISH AND FRENCH
COLLEAGUES. IF MULLER SHOULD PRESS THE ISSUE OF NAMIBIAN
CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND WINDHOEK DECLARATION OF
INTENT FURTHER YOU SHOULD DRAW ON GUIDANCE PROVIDED
PARAGRAPH 4 REFTEL B.

6. PRESS GUIDANCE: SUBJECT TO APPROVAL OF LONDON AND
PARIS, BRITISH AND FRENCH EMBASSIES HAVE AGREED TO
FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE SHOULD PRESS INQUIRE ABOUT
PURPOSE OF YOUR CALL ON MULLER. BEGIN QUOTE THE
AMBASSADORS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE U.S., UK AND FRANCE
REITERATED THEIR GOVERNMENTS VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF
NAMIBIA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA. THIS ACTION
UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE THE THREE GOVERNMENTS ATTACH TO

AN EARLY RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM. END QUOTE KISSINGER

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